[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

The time has come now when we should make suggestions for operation on the bladder.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): Remove the bladder.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Is it possible for us still to keep sitting on the fence or is it time when the House should accept that now it is time that we need to deal with it not only firmly and decisively but desperately? If there isn't any further time left for us to wait and watch and to keep dragging our feet, then, some of the suggestions which I am making, I would want to hon. Members, even if they are very extreme, to consider seriously and also consider serious whether it is still possible for us to take half-hearted or mild approaches.

Let us look back, Sir. If you want to see and find out remedial measures, I would like to look back objectively to determine where we have failed. All these years we have been sitting and watching. Why is it that we find ourselves in such a predicament? The first and foremost reason I find, Sir, is that the government here and the governments in the States have been adopting a policy of drift. It is our ethos under the system in which we are working that we are not very been to take strong measures, unpopular measures, unsavoury measures. When the trouble starts, instead of nipping it in the bud, we just drift along in the pious hope that the time will take care of the situation and that the things would be all right in due course.

Time is a great healer, Sir, for many a malaise. But time has never healed illegal lawlessnes, terrorism and subversive activities. Nowhere has it happened. It would not happen here. In fact, if one were to see the history of terrorism, one would find this. This was told to us when the Finance Commission went to Punjab. The Director-General of Police, Mr. Riberio, when he came to give evidence before us, said, "Sir, if you were to see and study the history of terrorism anywhere in the world, terrorism has never been solved, never been brought to an end, across the negotiation table." Not for a moment do I suggest that you must not negotiate. But kindly bear this in mind that by negotiation never has terorism come to an end. We were told, "Terrorism comes to an end only when terrorists feel if they do not come to the negotiating table, it will be highly unpreductive that it will be the end of terrorism, that it will be the end of the terrorists." Unless we are able to instil this kind of fear into their minds that what they are doing is counter-productive, what they are doing will cost them their lives, that it will cost them very heavily they will never come to the negotiating table. By your invitation they are never ever going to come to the negotiating table. That is why because of our approach, because of our attitude and because of our system their attitude is like this. The entire democratic process in the country appears to be becoming extremely permissive, appears to be becoming extremely licentious. We are fallig back upon all our rights to abuse them to the maximum possible extent we can. We don't realise that this system, which we have given to ourselves, a noble Constitution which we have given to ourselves, is a double-edged weapon. History is replete with instances. Countries after countries after World War II gave them this great system of democracy, but democracy did not survive in those countries, because you need very mature heads and sensible and strong shoulders to be able to carry this blessing of democracy. Once you try to tinker with it and tinker with it dangerously or if you abuse and abuse it very easily, possibly you lose the system, you lose the right to vote. Are we not really coming to such a situation where we feel that under this system we are unable to cope up with lawlessness, we are unable to cope up with subversive activities, we are unable to cope up with fundamentalism, we are unable to cope up with communalism and we are unable to cope up with divisive forces. There is another difficulty with us. We have shown too much concern about the

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Minister, I think, tomorrow.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Anytime, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Tomorrow, that's all. Yes, Mr. Salve.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I suggest, let us take it up at five o'clock sharp for 15 minutes and then discuss this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: Bagrodiaji, I have already heard you and I have also discussed with the Minister in charge. Now, the Business Advisory Committee is going to meet just at four o'clock. So, I will also tell them and they will also convey here. I think so. Now, Mr. Salve.

DISCUSSION ON GROWING MENACE OF TERRORISM AND OTHER SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES ENCOURAGED BY OUTSIDE POWERS

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Sir, I am obliged to have been called upon to raise a discussion on the growing menace of terrorism and other subversive activities encouraged by foreign powers.

Sir, the widespread growth of terrorism and other subversive activities have assumed an alarming and menacing dimension. These nefarious anti-national activities are not only seriously threatening the sovereignty, unity and integrity of the country but, perhaps, the very survival and existence of our free nation is now imperilled.

Sir, the unabated, galloping menace of terrorism, narco-terrorism, secessionism, communalism, fundamentalism, smuggling of arms, drugs and other subversive activities have plagued us now for long years. They have decimated the nation. They have made it extremely anaemic politically, economically and socially, and if this pestilent process is not firmly and determinedly ordered to a halt, we would be inviting disintegration of the Indian Republic. Our stakes now are extremely heavy because, I personally feel, we have indeed failed to diagnose the root cause of the malady in which we are so deeply enmeshed at the moment, and unless we make a very hard-headed and ruthless evaluation of what the causes are as a result of which we find ourselves in such a predicament which is threatening the very existence of a free India, perhaps, we will not be able to do justice to ourselves and the generations to come will never forgive us. Therefore, Sir, I think, now in this debate the honourable Members who are going to participate, and others, I am sure, will transcend their party pre-dilections and affiliations and would like, so far as the subversive activities are concerned, so far as the terrorism is concerned, to apply themselves in a manner as would bring about some suggestions, as would bring about measures to be taken by the Government of India and the State Governments to effectively check this menace. It is absolutely beyond any controversy that whatever remedial measures we have adopted have been extremely inadequate. They are extremely inefficient, inefficacious. They have been far from satisfactory. They are entirely half-hearted. We have not been able to bring about any effective check on the insurrectional activities, anarchy and organised lawlessness which persists. Unfortunately, now the divisive forces are also coming home to roost.

Sir, I am reminded of what Churchill said about the Irish Revolution in 1920. Churchill said:

"When the nation is suffering from incontinence ....."

"Incontinence" is unchecked flow. Sir, Winston Churchill said:

> "When the nation is suffering from incontinence of blood in various States and we have not yet been able to bring about any efficacious remedy, that is perhaps because we continue to collect urine instead of operating on the bladder."

world opinion, about what others are likely to feel. Even today a question was raised about the police atrocities on the Tibetans. My friend, Mr. Ahluwalia very rightly pointed out that we are worried and we do not want this kind of barbarous approach towards anybody whether it is Tibetans, Indians or anyone else, but that is the end of the matter. Mr. Ambedkar went a step further. He said: Are we for the sake of the Tibetans, going to sacrifice our own interests and for how long shall we do this? The unipolar world is emerging. The situation is changing all over the world and we seem to be anxious to sticking on to what we had done earlier. In this context I want to submit the attitude of the Islamic world is most unfortunate so far as India is concerned. The Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) is going to take up the question of Kashmir in Dakar. What *locus standi* do they have? Are they going to protect hte religious minorities of India? It is the secular values and the secular commitment of the people of India which will protect the Masjid and which will protect the Mandir and which will protect the lives and honour of the minorities. OIC is not going to do that. In that connection I expect the Muslim community, my Muslim brethren, to take up this matter very strongly. The Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Abdullah Bukhari, and Mr. Shahabuddin speak so much about the Babari Masjid. What has happened to them today? Why are they not telling the OIC to look after their own business? They have enough problems in their own countries. Let them look after their own fundamentalism. Let not be worried about the lives of the Muslims in this country. The Hindus are committed to secularism and their lives and honour are safe in this country. If at all they do this kind of a thing, they will only be strengthening the forces which are out to scuttle the secular values in this country. That needs to be understood by the OIC people. The difficulty is, why are we worried about them? The Amnesty International wants to come to Kashmir to oversee what is happening there. They are worried about the human rights. They have never been worried about the human rights in South Africa. They have never been worried about the civilian lives being mercilessly killed in Iraq. Why didn't they go to Iraq? Why weren't they willing to give some advice to President Bush? They cannot, because there they can only lick their shoes. But in India they want to come and oversee the human rights. They are not worried about what has happened to tens of thousands of innocent lives lost at the hands of the assassins and the terrorists. At any rate, it is high time that we in this country resolve to say "to hell with them". We are going to tackle this problem. We are worried about our own independence; we are worried about our peace and tranquillity. We are worried about our economic growth. How can there be an economic growth in any country, which does ont enjoy peace and tranquility? It is an elementary principle. All these years we have been far too worried: what will America say, what will USSR say ad what will China say. Go to hell. Whatever you say, you do say. We are worried about ourselves and we are going to take such steps are are efficient and efficacious. We are going to ensure that terrorism and subversive activities come to an end decisively. In this respect there has been a terrible failure of Indian diplomacy. How is it that Pakistan is always able to get away with murder? It is a well-known fact that they have amaseed nuclear weapons with fraud, thievery and deceit. I do not like to speak very strongly about Pakistan because I am one of those people who immensely respect the sentiments of the people of Pakistan. I have been very closely associated with the people of Pakistan during the Reliance World Cup cricket matches. I know how hospitable, kind and warm are the people of Pakistan—how they love the people of India—how they want to come to India and be with us. But it is one thing to have this kind of sentiment and it is another thing to deal with them when it comes to this kind of a cheap war that is sought to be perpetrated by

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

Pakistan in India. It has become impossible for us to be able to stand on our own on the question of diplomacy. What kind of diplomacy did we have all these years? Today Pakistan says "We do not have any hand in the insurgency and in the terrorist activities." They are flatly saying that there are no training camps for the militants and no terrorists in Pakistan. It is like the same denial that they do not have nuclear weapons and do not have nuclear armament programmes. Today unabashedly they continue to deny that they have any hand in training terrorists and sending them over here. They also continue to deny that they have anything to do with amassing of the nuclear arsenal. Today, this matter was referred to by my learned friend, honourable Member, Mr. Kulkarni. What a disconcerting statement Mr. Gates, Director of CIA made before the Senate Commitee on foreign policy? He testified that Pakistan and India may indulge in nuclear attack because both countries have deadly nuclear capability. I really hope that we are not forced, we are not driven to this kind of a calamity. What one nuclear bomb would mean? One nuclear bomb can destroy half of Delhi's population and the whole of Lahore will be now here there.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: America will not allow you to fight this kind of a war.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Swell, I am not willing to depend on America any more.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: You are not depending on America. You will not be able to fight that kind of a war.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I wish there is no war ever whether nuclear or non-nuclear. But this kind of a testimony has been given by Mr. Gates. I am sure Mr. Swell will give some credence to what Mr. Gates has said. Much as I should like to believe Mr. Swell, but I cannot completely ignore what has been said by Mr. Gates. We do not want any war with anyone. We do not want a war. It is not our ethos, it not our philosophy. We want Pakista to be happy. We want it to be pros perous. We want it to have a stabl democracy in every sphere. We have al the good wishes for them. But certainl we cannot allow them to carry on aidin and abetting subeversive activities agains us. What is of grievious concern To us is, why have they amassed nuclear weapons in Pakistan? Is it to keep them in the cotton-wool? What are their intentions? It is good that Mr. Swell feels that America will not allow us to do that kind of a war.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I will explain, if you want.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What is of concern to us is, why have they amassed six nuclear bombs? Accidentally they were photographed by the satellites. Those photographs have appeared in all the military journals of the world showing how Pakistan people were carrying those nuclear bombs in the carriers. Why have they amassed it? Is it only for showing or to keep them in an exhibition? Their intentions are extremely unholy. Their intentions are extremely suspect. Why are they denying? Israel has nuclear bombs but they don't deny. South Africa has not nuclear bombs. They don't deny. France does not deny. China does not deny. United Kingdom does not deny. USA does not deny. Why Pakistan is denying? They are denying for the simple reason that their intentions are thoroughly dishonourable and untrustworthy and I would not take Mr. Gates' statement very lightly. Before this happens, let us take care of ourselves fully. So far as diplomacy is concerned, how is it that Pakistan has been able to get away with the murder? There is the Simla Agreement that we entered into and that Simla Agreement clearly provides that all the disputes and the differences would be resolved amicably bilaterally; they would be never taken, they would be never taken, in any international forum whatsoever. How are they taking it to the OIC once again? In and

out of numbers, they want to sort of consolidate the Islamic powers against us and we merrily are supposed to accept that. We have been the biggest strength of the Islamic powers. We have been supporting them. We have a very large number of Muslims in our country. We respect their sentiments. We respect the brotherhood of Islam. But the Islamic countries are going to do this to us. If they are going to help Pakistan carry out the nefarious activities for secession of Kashmir, do you think it is worthwhile having friendship with the Islamic countries? Sir, I am talking with great responsibility. I am one who stands for friendship with the Islamic countries. And that is why we have kept Israel at an arm's length. China has changed its attitude towards Israel. So has the USSR. All over the world, situations and equations are changing. But we still stand by our friendship for the Islamic world and so far as the Islamic world is concerned, this is what they are doing to us. (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Don't interrupt. You are also going to take part in this discussion.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I am adding spice to his speech.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: I submit that our diplomacy needs to be a little more aggressive. We need to understand things. Our national interests go ahead of everyone else. Our diplomats must not be only interested in themselves. They must be able to effectively take up national causes. When I go abroad, I find that the position and status of our diplomats in the country are very lamentable, extremely pitiable. And therefore, Sir, this is one of the reasons why we have not been able to get the world opinion to seeing the right thing. In fact, the disinformation and misinformation, so far as terrorism is concerned, have taken the better of the world. Also, there is one aspect of the matter. These subversive activities which are being carried out are because of criminalisation of Indian politics. Will democracy be able to take in criminalisation, Sir? That is only because we are so liberal, we are so open that a person remaining in jail can contest elections. A person arrested for anti-national activities, who is in jail, will contest the election and get elected. And when he goes before a court of law to give his statement, he says, "I challenge the Chief Minister to come in U.P. I challenge the Chief Minister to come and fight in my constituency. He will fight openly and I will fight from the jail. And see who wins." It is Uttar Pradesh. It is the BJP Government there. We have no love lost with them. But it is the principle I am talking of. What is happening in Bihar? What is happening in several other parts, especially in the Hindi belt? All sorts of criminals, criminals who are being held for dacoity, for arson, for loot, for subversive activities, are entitled to fight elections and they are so powerful. It is the muscle power which is getting the better of the political parties. The political will seems to have become so weak that we tamely surrender in this kind of criminalisation of politics. Sir, this is a serious threat to our democracy. This is part of the subersive activity which will dismantle the very republican character of our democracy.

Also, Sir, the passing, I would like to make a reference to the Centre-State relationship also. The Centre-State relationship has also not been too cordial. It has also not been on a keel as it ought to be. One of the reasons, I feel, is the complaint of the States that a step-motherly treament is being given to the States so far as financial matters are concerned. They are wanting to clamp all the discipline on the States and indulge in the worst possible indiscipline themselves. I do not want to say anything further. I do not want to get into the realm of finance and economics because I do not know anything about it. But certainly, I do want to say one thing.

SHRI MENTAY PADAMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): He is modest. He had been the Chairman of the Finance Commission.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: I do want to say one thing. It is absolutely imperative that we do bring about a more cohesive approach between the States and the Centre. We can have differences of opinion. Let them not look upon the Centre with a degree of suspicion and distrust. It is that which is dangerous and it is that which leads to this kind of a thing.

Sir, having evaluated what have been some of the reasons, why we have landed ourselves into this difficulty, may I suggest two remedial measures? In all seriousness and earnestness, I urge upon the Members to react to the suggestions I have to make. I don't want to sound too much obsessed with integration and to be speaking in passion. With maximum restraint, I want to make these two suggestions because I feel unless we act on these two lines, perhaps, there is going to be no panacea, perhaps, there is going to be no relief from the menace that we have landed ourselves in. Sir, the first remedial measure that I want to suggest is that certain activities of terrorism and certain subversive activities should constitute high treason. Let us make a special law that certain activities will constitute high treason and that would tantamount to waging a war against the Government and those people found guilty of it would be so treated and can be sentenced to the maximum punishment of death. For high treason, the maximum punishment is death. Unless this happens, it would be difficult to control this menace. If you are going to arrest four terrorists with a gun and they are involved in a murder or anything which can be proved, perhaps, you will put them inside under the TADA. No, they must have a real fear in their mind that this is a terrorist activity and the very fact that they are engaging hemselves in a terrorist activity, would put them under a special law, under the charge of high treason, which would mea death. Mere participation should involve the charge of high treason and the maximum punishment should be death. We can make special law. I think our Constitution is very liberal to enable us to do this. Under extraordinary circumstances, we can provide that certain offences would be deeme high treason and would tantamount t waging war against the Government an that they would be dealth with as thoug the culprits, as though the delinquent are guilty of waging war against th Government and could be sentenced t as much as death.

The second suggestion I am making Sir, is, it is absolutely imperative tha so far as our borders and border area are concerned, they should be declare disturbed areas and the administration o the same should be handed over to th Army. Let them deal with it accordin to the law of the Army. The civilia administration should be withdrawn fron those villages which have been used b the terrorists to shelter themselves an to carry out their activities. Let thos areas be brought under the military rule Let them deal with it. Friends of min coming from Punjab have been tellin me that ever since the Army has gon for purposes of elections, the situation i Punjab has improved. Many peopl who come from Punjab, can perhap testify whether or not it is true. Bu if that is the only language people in dulging in subversive activities under stand, then let us take effective mea sures, make it over to the Army an let the Army deal with it. They wil take care of this problem. I have n doubt in my mind if the Army is al operative in that area and they ar administrating that area, perhaps, it wil become very hot for terrorists to b smuggling arms across, for terrorists t be trained abroad and to infiltrate an this insurgency, perhaps, would com to an end. We have seen the result in Assam. I am very sorry that many civilians had to bear the brunt. On hon. Member's house was searched. I am very sorry that such a kind of thing has happened. But when a much larger calamity has befallen us, when our very existence as a nation is in peril and threatened, is there anything left now? If we do not act now, perhaps, we never will have a time to act hereafter and history will never forgive us for this kind of inertia for this kind of lethargy, for this kind of inaction of which we

are guilty all this while. I would want the hon. Members who are participating in this debate to kindly consider these two suggestions. Now this menace has escalated to Haryana; it has escalated to U.P. My submission, Sir, is tomorrow it will escalate further down. It will go to Madhya Pradesh, it will go to Maharashtra, it will go down to South. Let us not imagine... (*Interruption*)...In South, in Tamil Nadu what is happeing is something I don't .... (*Interruption*)...Naxals are active in Maharashtra, in the South. I had in mind a particular type of terrorism. Even the Naxals' movement would be roped in. Anyone who is part of this kind of an organised lawlessness to subvert the rule of law must be roped in as waging war against the Government, guilty of high treason, has to be penalised as such. That is first. And second is this. So far as the border areas are concerned, our Constitution permits us to have this kind of ...(*Interruption*)...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): What about the preaching of communal hatred?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am coming to it. I am coming to communalism, Jageshji. Sir, I will not leave it. I will deal with it. If I have dealt with my Muslim friends, if I have dealt with OIC if I have dealt with Pakistan, it will be unfair if I will not deal with communalism. These are the divisive forces which are playing havoc with us. Now Jageshji wants me to speak on communalism. How much blood of innocent people has flowed as a result of communal fights, as a result of igniting communal passions? What are the facts and who are the people who are doing it? Today lots of things are said about the *Ekta Yatra*. Sir, I don't worry about the *Ekta Yatra*. We can ignore it because in the name of uniting the country if somebody is taking this *Ekta Yatra* and that happens to be BJP, on the basis of nationalism they will never be able to garner support. Their Ekta Yatra is going to bt damp squib. I have no doubt in my mind. Sir, what worries me is somtthing different. The Times of India of 10.12.1991 said something which I want to read out here-this is my apprehension and this is the apprehension of my country:

> "Although the then BJP President claimed that his mission spread more sweetness and light than communal passion, the facts told a different story. The year of his cross-country trips saw 28 major communal out-breaks, the largest figure in recent memory."

You were loud enough in saying today, "We are uniting the country. We are trying to spreal the gospel of love and unity to the people." You said this also when another Yatra was taken out... (*Interruption*)... No, no; I am talking about communalism. Communalism, in my opinion, is a sub-versive activity, Mr. Gautam. It is a subversive activity and I am voicing the opnion of an eminent national daily which certainly does not represent the voice of my party. This is a fact. It is a fact and no one can deny that the supposed Rath Yatra of Mr. Advani did unleash did flare up communal passions. Didn't the communal fever of the country go up when the lives of innocent men, women and children were lost? Of what use is a yatra in the name of unity or in the name of Ram Mandir? Mariyada Purshottam Sri Ram's name, Prabhu Sri Ram's name, should not be exploited to aggrandise your political interests in a manner that you have to spill blood, that you have to take lives of innocent men, women and children. Sir, our Constitution does not permit, this. The Constitution does not permit this kind of a situation to go on unattended so far as

[The Vice-Chairman (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA) in the Chair.]

the communalism is concerned. Therefore, if I want this Ekta Yatra to be stopped, it is not because I am worried. If in the name of Ekta Yatra you want to aggrandise your political interests, that also dots not matter o us Please carry on the good work, if you want to. What worries us is the history, the background of the other yatra as we certainly don't want a repetition of the yatra. Therefore, we want that yatra to be stopped in time. Ultimately if the other yatra had to be stopped in Bihar, could it not have been

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

stopped in Somnath itself? At least if it had been stopped in Somnath, Mr. Vishwanath would have perhaps fallen, which he did, would have gone out of power and authority which he did willy-nilly in any case. Gracefully if he had gone a little earlier, at least the lives of thousands of innocent people would not have been lost the way they were lost in the communal riot... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: What are you going to do in Tamil Nadu? Is the Government going to stop the Yatra in Tamil Nadu itself?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): This will be replied to by the Minister and not be the Member.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: No, Sir. He referred to a particular incident and I am just asking a clarification...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Certainly, Sir.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:... because there is an internal dispute in the Congress (I) Party, I mean in the Congress Government. What is the plan of action the Congress (I) Pary is thinking of? Is it going to stop the Yatra in Tamil Nadu itself? That is their friendly Government.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Sir, so far as my party's attitude and approach is concernid, it is well covered by the letter of Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao to Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi and in that he has made it absolutely clear that "what you say is correct. What you profess is correct. You are talking about the unity of the country: Can we ever achieve the unity of the country without taking into confidence all national political parties? Can you ever bring out that kind of a cohesive approach of the people in the nation without taking the ruling party into confidence?" For unity, Sir, there would be consensus: Your party can join; my party can join, provided it is a matter of unity. Who is opposed to it? Will you oppose the unity and integrity of the nation? But let it not be a ploy to aggrandise your political interest and what is worse, let it not unleash communal violence on again as it has done earlier. Therefore, have maximum apprehension that th Ekta Yatra is going to degenerate into communal tamasha and once it degenerat into a communal tamasha, then we kno that the communal riots take their own tc and unfortunately the minority commur ties are the ones to suffer the most. Ther fore, my voice is to stop this kind of Yatra in view of our past experienc wherever it can be. As I said, the Prin Minister is seized of the matter. He convening the National Integration Cou cil. Let your party and let all other part prevail upon the Prime Minister to s the Yatra. The difficulty is...You w please not misunderstand me.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAN I don't want to interrupt you.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Don't interru me. But please don't misunderstand also. We will stop the Yatra and all t parties will join in this that tinkering w the civil liberties and he rights of t political partis should not happen. Let the parties join together and decide ju now, whatever it may be, in view of o past experience which was a very unha py experience. It was a nightmare. V don't want a repetition of that. Ek Yatra, unter whichever name, must brought to an ent. Sir, what about th dispute of Ayodhaya?

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAI Do you yield just for a minute? Sir, me keep the records straight. The oth day when the Prime Minister invited the political parties with regard to th particular aspect, barring Shiv Sena--t BJP did not participate; Mr. Advani cam said something and then went away—eve party who participated in the meeti authorised the Prime Minister to take ar action he thought fit and every party sa that they would support and stand behir the Prime Minister whatever action takes. So, the ball is in the court of t Prime Minister, I mean in the court the Government. Whatever action t Government thinks fit to take, let the take: They can stop it either in Tan Nadu or in Karnataka or in Andh Pradesh... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Okey. Let him carry on and conclude.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, the ball is ulthnately going to be in the ... (*Interruption*)... You please don't misunderstund me. This is what I wanted you to avoid. I have never said that the responsibility of taking action is of anyone of them. The ball is squarely, and would squarely be in the court of the Government It is for them to the action. I have also read in the papers that all the parties, except the BJP, authorised the Prime Minister to take action. The Prime Minister has written a letter and today we read in the newspapers that he is convening a meeting of the National Integration Council. I am sure you will be one of the members or your leader will be one of the members. Let everyone prevail upon the Prime Minister. So far as we in this party are concerned, and this I am not saying in my capacity... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Sir, it is there I am objecting: There is no question of everybody prevailing upon the Prime Minister. It is for the Prime Minister to take action.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Don't interrupt. If there is no disagreement, don't interrupt. There is no point of disagreement.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, this is precisely my apprehension. Is this going to be the action only of the Congress Party? Or, is it going to be an action of all the parties put together, implemented through the Government?

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu): The action should be taken by the Government and not by the parties.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, let me make one point very clear. It is not going to be the responsibility of the Prime Minister alone as an individual. It is also not going to be the responsibility of the Congress or any party. It should be the responsibility of all the secular and democratic forces to ensure that this communal trend of politics is brought to an end. At the same time I shall appeal to my friends in the BJP to think over the implications and fall-out of the Ekta Yatra.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: That is the correct perspective. All that I want to submit is, to us, Sir, communalism is a total anathema to the very system under which we are functioning. It is a betrayal of our democracy. That is why we are fighting even about Ayodhya dispute. What is it? Is it, to us, purely a dispute of the land? Is it, to us, purely a dispute of the superstructure whether of mandir or masjid? It is something very much more than that. It is, to us, a litmus test of our commitment to secularism, to prove that our commitment to secularism is not negotiable. Sir, a contention is raised---I would only take a few more minutes—by the BJP that, well, you sit down and decide the dispute amicably. That is the stand of my party. It is the most sensible stand. Let there be a discussion between parties in a spirit of cordiality and in a spirit of mutual give and take. Kindly settle the dispute once for all. Let there not be any more violence. Let there not be bloodshed in the name of Maryada Purshotam Prabhu Shri Ram. This is, at least, the minimum, that we can do in memory of the great human King. Therefore, what we suggest is, kindly sit and discuss the matter across and come to some solution in the matter amicably. If you can't do this, then the only course is, the matter has to be resolved according to the adjudicatory process of the court. To that their reply is—the contention of Mr. Advani is—can a mtter like this be resolved by a court, when what is involved is the sentiments of the majority community, sentiments of a religious denomination which has the largest majority? And since religious sentiments are involved, the adjudicatory process, the process of law is not acceptable to them. Is it ever tenable? Ours is a secular country. But even to a theocratic country such a suggestion would be preposterous. A theocratic country may have a religion of the State. It may make laws which are favourable to a religion which is the religion of the State. But any dispute of worship even in a theocratic State will have to be

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

decided in accordance with the law of that land and not on the basis of sentiments. What are we talking here? In our country which is so utterly strict in these matters, we want a dispute to be resolved on the basis of religious sentiments!

Where will it land us ultimately? We cannot even make a law. We cannot create this kind of a privileged class. Sir, I am making certain propositions of constitutional law. I hope somebody from the BJP party would be able to answer me. Sir, under our Constitution we cannot legislate for a class. We cannot create a classification. And we cannot create classification on the basis of religion for purposes of places of worship. This is my proposition. If we cannot do this, we cannot have a law which will sanctify this kind of a demand which Mr. Advaniji is making based on the sentiments of the people. We can't amend our Constitution to sanctify this kind of a demand because such an amendment of the Constitution will violate the basic structure. Such being the situation, is it fair that you say that the way to resolve the dispute is not through an adjudicatory process?

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Sir, the subject is that the growing menace of terrorism and subversive activities is encouraged by outside powers. And what are we taking about?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): The BJP is the agent of these outside powers.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): The subject is to attack the BJP in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening, and before taking meals, which taking meals and after taking meals.

मौलाना आबेदुल्ला खान आज़मी : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अन्दर की कमजोरी का फायदा बाहर की शक्तियाँ उठाती हैं (व्यवधान)

SHRI G. G. SWELL: This is my fifth term in Parliament; I am hearing a new theory allay.

4.00 P.M.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I have been longer in the Parliament than my learned friend and all that I can say is: 'It is folly to be wise where ignorance is bliss': I have nothing more to say in reply to him... (*Interruptions*)... I am not casting any aspersions... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Sir, perambulating or running away... (*Interruptions*)... is the prerogative... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, am not yielding to him... (*Interruption*)... He will have to sit down... (*Interruptions*)... I am not yielding... (*Interruptions*)... Sir, he cannot interrupt me... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Swell, he is not yielding. Please sit down... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: It is my prerogative to interrupt... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, it is none of his prerogative to interrupt me... (*Interruptions*)... As I have said it is folly to be wise where ignorance is bliss... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: It is you who are ignorant, my dear friend. You do not know what is happening in the world around you... (*Interruptions*)... Why don't you show all your wisdom... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Swell you can have your say when your turn comes... (*Interruptions*)... Please sit down... (*Interruptions*). He is my yielding to you... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I do not want to yield to him Sir. (*Interruptions*)... I do not know how many times he has changed his loyalty... (*Interruptions*)... I do not know to which party he belongs... (*Interruptions*)...

*****

*... (*Interruptions*)... I have heard enough ... (*Interruptions*)... Enough is enough...

---

*Not recorded.

(*Interruptions*)...I formulated a certain proposition of constitutional law because I do feel...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: **(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You are not entitled to this kind of an argument...(*Interruptions*)...If any unparliamentary language has been used, it will be expunged from the records...(*Interruptions*)... Please do not enter into such a kind of argument...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: He is totally ignorant of the would around...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, what I want to submit is, I would rather be ignorant than befoolishly wise...(*Interruptions*)... so far as I am concerned...(*Interruptions*)... I was talking of communalism. Is communalism not one of the subversive activities? And, if I am talking of subversive activity. I am dealing with one of the main issues which is a burning issue in this country, and which is flaring up communal passions in the country and it is the Ayodhya ssue. I am dealing with it in a very restrained manner. Nor am I casting any aspersions. (*Interruptions*).. Sir, today I am talking of communalism. I have formulated a certain proposition which can control it For the sake of sentiments of the majority community and because sentiments are involved, should the masjid be removed? Sir, my respectful submission is, this kind of an attitude is simply untenable, it is entirely subversive of democracy, it is subversive of the Constitution and it will disturb the very basis of India's republic. Therefore, I would submit, so far as this issue is concerned, let us resolve on a policy. Unless, in this country, we are all going to live cohersively, respecting each other's religion, respecting each other's sentiments, respecting each other's places of worship, we will never be able to manage this country. Twenty to thirty per cent of the people in this country belong to religious minority and they have been living happily and merrily. Why have these riots taken place? Is this what the BJP wants? Kindly look at the matter more objectively. All you subversive activities, are they not fundamentalism, communalism and terrorism? We have to put an end to all these things. All that I want to submit is, in this debate let us not try to get at each other to score debating points. Let us look at the matter with more seriousness. It is far too serious a matter to be looked upon for scoring debating points and casting aspersions at each other. I am very sorry for having said certain things to Mr. Swell which did not like. I apologise to him. It was only in the rush of the moment, because he interrupted me, that I said it. I am very sorry for it.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I too apologise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): That is very nice.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: But Sir, the the fact remains and I maintain that fundamentalism and communalism are arch enemies of this country and the people of this country. The sooner we put an end to this menace, the better it will be for us. Thank you.

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the other night those of us who watch the news saw the son of Aung San Suu Kyi receiving the Nobel prize in Sotckholm. His grandfather was killed in Rangoon in 1947. In January 1948. Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated. In 1950 or 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated. Some years thereafter, S.W.R.D. Bhanderanaike was assassinated in Colombo. Shikh Mujeeb was assassinated. Bhutto was hanged. Zia was killed in an explosion. Gen. Zia-ur-Rehman was assissinated. Mra. Gandhi was assassinated. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. The common man has also been shedding his blood. On December, 6, the newspapers reported as follows: The Congress leader, Hayagreevachari was killed in Varangal in Andhra Pradesh. Four Peopl's War Group Naxalites were killed. A school Principal shot dead in Assam, 22 killed in Tohana in Hissar, 26 killed in Pilibhit and Lakhimpur Kheri Districts in Uttar Pradesh. Then two or three days later, clashes between militants near Srinagar—10 killed.

*Not recorded.

[Shri Raj Mohan Gandhi]

In the *Hindu* of 10th December—BJP leader and two militants among four killed in Punjab.

With all this, the ordinary man in India asks: Has our blood lost its power? Has the human heart lost its heart-beat? The plant of terrorism is now not only an ugly and sinister plant. It has become a huge jungle. But what we have to ask is about the soil that seeds this jungle and this plant, the seeds that sprout it, the air, the sunshine and the water that nourish and irrigate this hideous plant. The Janata Dal and I personally do not yield to anyone in a frontal opposition to and resentment of outside assistance to terrorism and subversive activities. We are aware of this assistance. We oppose it and we regret that the Government has not been able to successfully counter it through bilateral negotiations or international forums. And we urge upon the Government even at this stage to make its effort in this direction more successful.

In 1947, when Kashmir was attacked by raiders from Pakistan, it was not Maharaja Hari Singh who defended Kashmir that time; it was Sheikh Abdullah and young members of the National Conference who defended Kashmir from the foreign invader. Where is Kashmir today? Today, we have thousands of young men in Kashmir wanting India to be pushed out of Kashmir, pushing minority community members, Hindus and Sikhs, out of Kashmir. In 1947 and the years thereafter, after the terrible killings of 1947, the Sikhs in Punjab were the pride of India and they still are. Whether it was in sports or in agriculture or in defence or in the general presentation of India to the outside world, they were in the forefront. What has happened to the Sikhs of Punjab today? Assam likewise. Those of us who have had the privilege of going over there—you are from Assam, Mr. Vice-Chairman—know that the graciousness, the warmth and the nobility of the people of Assam were meant to be used not only for thet glory of Assam but to help India. Yet today so many in Assam have been alienated.

In Assam, in Punjab and in Kashmir we have every right and every necessity to point our finger at those assisting from outside. But we will be going seriously wrong if we do not look at the domestic reasons, at the seeds, the soil, the air and the sunshine, that we create that favours this ugly and hideous plant of terrorism. Terrorism is a very complex question and it is going to remain with us for a very long time. Let us be aware of that.

What do terrorists and extremists do? Many things. But some are as follows: one, very often they place Governmen in a dilemma. They put Government i a "Heads we win, tails you lose" situa tion. In the Golden Temple in 198 that was the situation. To have gone i was terrible, and not to have gone i also seemed a very risky propositio at the time. Two, they also present— the terrorists and extremists—a simpl but dangerous version of reality: "W are being persecuted; we are being pe secuted more than anybody else." Th is what the voice of terrorism and th voice of extremism says to its people "We are being persecuted, others a being pampered." Three, terrorists an extremists use emotional slogans: "Ou religion is in danger, "Our identity in danger", "Our people are in danger This is the language of terrorism a extremism. Four, the language of terr rism and extremism is selective a sectional, not national and human. Th talk of pride and they talk of honou Kashmir pride, Assam pride, Musli pride, Sikh pride, Hindu pride but n national pride and national honour. Fi they impose uniformity of opinion terror and pressure.

Now, parties and individuals may s they are against terrorism and extremis They may say they are against subv sive activities. But whenever any pa does any of the things I have mentic ed, that party helps in creating a clim that favours this jungle of terrorism. at this stage when so many fires terrorism are burning all over In

if at this stage we do not look at ourselves, if at this stage each party does not look at itself, we will be letting down this nation and the future generations. I am prepared to look at my party. I state with every awareness of responsibility that my party has at times been selective in its complaints and sectional in its demands. I admit that. At times my party has been like that. There is no need to say more. But I would like, if my colleagues will allow me to say something about the BJP. I compliment the BJP on its cleverness. It has placed the Government on the horns of a dilemma. Well done! "Heads I win tails you lose." I compliment the cleverness of the BJP because they have added to the emotional appeal of religion, another emotional appeal: to love of unity of India. Clever! Well done! Congratulations. I compliment you on your cleverness but not on your wisdom. I compliment you on your organisational skill, but I don't see in you the skill that can look into the heart of the weaker neighbour. I compliment you on your short-term successes. But,—mark this down—your short-term victories will return to haunt you and to taunt you. Now, may I speak to the Congress(I) benches now? Where has your ideological clarity gone? If you say that you don't wish to confront the BJP politically, that may well be a clever decision and it may also be a wise decision. But, have you lost the clarity and the determination to confront the BJP ideologically? I am disappointed by your ideological fuziness.

Mr. Salve, the distinguished Deputy Leader of your Party, is not here, sadly. But he very rightly asked whether the other parties will support this Government on this issue. May I state very clearly that there is no question. the Janata Dal, the National Front and the Left Front, will support the Congress(I) Government if it decides to stand up to the BJP on this? And, I state this well remembering that in November 1990, on a similar issue, the Congress(I) Party did not support the National Front Government. Even so, let it be recorded—let the National Front and the Left Front speak for themselves and I speak for the Janata Dal on this issue—that if the Congress(I) Government wants to take a particular firm step, the Janata Dal will support it. But the Congress(I) must ask itself whether it is prepared to fight the issue ideologically, whether it is prepared to explain to the Indian people, by taking the message to every hut and hamlet in India, how unity is to be created, how integrity is to be maintained and how the prestige of our nation and our culture are to be protected.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the terrorist is a courageous man.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi, will you yield for a moment? I only want to submit to you that when you say that the Congress(I) has no clarity, I am really surprised. In the whole history of the Congress of the past 106 years, you will see that it had clarity and it was a party with which your grandfather was associated and the prime motivation for us to work came from him. Secondly, when you say that the party has no clarity, you must realise that when the Prime Minister is leading a minority Government, there are certain strategic difficulties and he has to try to achieve a consensus. He has even called the BJP. But the BJP is having its own game plan and it is playing the game of politics. Mr. Sikander Bikht himself has stated that the Yatra is politics though he explained it in some other words. So, Mr. Narasimha Rao's strategy is a clear strategy and he is to be complimented for taking a decision and taking the people with him and all the political parties. On the contrary, you are blaming the Congress(I) Party which is not proper.

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Kulkarni has put up a valiant defence of a case which is not yet as strong as it should be. That is all I can say.

Sir, I was speaking about the courage of the terrorist. I recognize the courage of many terrorists who bite a cyanide capsule, who are ready not only to

[Shri Raj Mohan Gandhi]

kill, but also to be killed. I may respect their courage, in addition to recognizing it, although I never accept that murder is right. I can never give murder respect. But may I say that there is greater courage in turning the searchlight inwards than in turning the bullet inwards? And there is greater courage in having a dialogue than in continuing the battle of the bullet and the bomb. I said earlier that the question of terrorism is complex, and it is a question of the long term. I find that the Government has never presented even to the Members of Parliament, let alone to the public, a comparative assessment of the struggle against terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, in Punjab, in Asam, with LTTE or in Andhra Pradesh. Where is such a White Paper? Where is the briefing? I know there are some individuals in the Government, in the administration, who are working very hard on this issue. But today we are trying to combat terrorism with an uniformed public and, if I may say so, even through an uninformed leadership. A comparative assessment of the fight against terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and South India has to be presented, if not to the whole public, at least to Members of Parliament or in committees of Parliament.

Mr. Salve mentioned the need to amend, revise, modify, tighten laws. That may be necessary. But, in my view, of far greater necessity is training—training of our security forces. Now, our security forces at times have committed excesses. I recognize that. We must recognize that. But we must also recognize the risks that our security forces, State forces take, every day of their life, every minute of their life. I think it is necessary from this platform to recognize and respect the risks that our security men face minute after minute just as, it is necessary to remind them of the need to stick to the law. Training not only in the use of arms, training in tactics and strategy, training in how to remain detached from the system, because very often security forces going into an area become part of the system of corruption, of give-and-take, of obligation, of settlement, of dishonourable compromise—training in how to remain detached from the system. Training in how to remain obedient to the law in the teeth of the gravest provocation and training in how to maintain respect for the innocent while chasing and pursuing the guilty.

Ratnakarji, I am always happy to oblige you. With these words, I conclude my remarks. (*Interruptions*)

Thank you.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत में उग्रवाद और इस उग्रवाद को बाहरी शक्तियों का समर्थन हमारे देश को तोड़ने के लिए दिन-प्रति-दिन बढता जा रहा है और, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, युग-युगान्तर से आतंकवाद की घटनायें हमारे देश में चली आ रहीं है, पर उनके पीछे मकसद कोई और होता था, कई हमारे सामाजिक दोष, कई हमारी यातनायें, कहीं लोगों को न्याय न मिलना। हम लोग जानते हैं कि कि कैसे चम्बल घाटी बनी थी, लोगों ने अपने हाथों में अस्त्र-सस्त्र लिए थे और उसके पीछे क्या कारण था ? ऐसा देखने में आया कि उस आतंकवाद से जुड़े हुए जो लोग थे, उन आतंकवादियों को गरीब अपना मसीहा कहते थे। उन डाकुओं को, उन आताताइयों को अमीर लोग, पैसे वाले लोग या हुकूमत तो बागी कहा करती थी पर गरीब लोग उन्हें अपना मसीहा कहा करते थे। कभी जग्गा डाकू की बात पढें या डाकू मानसिंह की बात पढें या बंगाल के रघु डकैत की बात पढें, सब के सब ऐसे ही थे, जिनके नाम मशहूर थे। उन्होंने अस्त्र-शस्त्र पकडे थे अन्याय के विरोध में, उन्होंने अस्त्र-सस्त्र पकड़े थे जिस दिन उनकी माँ, बहन या बेटी की इज्जत वहां के जमींदार ने लूट ली थी, उस दिन उन्होंने अस्त्र-शस्त्र पकडे थे, और उन्होंने वे अस्त्र एस्त्र अन्याय के खिलाफ पकडे थे और एक दिन ऐसा हुआ कि वे अमीरों का धन लूटने लगे और गरीबों में बांटने लगे। लेकिन, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उस आतंकवाद में और इस आतंकवाद में जमीन-

आसमान का फर्क है । वह आतंकवाद अन्याय के खिलाफ न्याय की मांग करने के लिए था, पर यह आतंकवाद अन्याय और न्याय की बात तो कहीं दूर छोड गया है, यहां तो सिर्फ ए० के० 47 की आवाज सुनाई पडती है और उसके बाद मानव जीवन ठंडा हो जाता है, धराशाही हो जाता है । मेरे ख्याल में उस आतंकवाद को बढावा देने वाले लोग बाहर नहीं बैठे हैं, इसी सदन के अन्दर बैठे हैं ।

मुझे बडा दुख लगा जब हमारे देश के राष्ट्रपिता मोहनदास कर्मचन्द गांधी के पोत्र राज मोहन गांधी जी कांग्रेस पर उंगली उठा रहे थे । * *

नाथू राम गोडसे ने भी गोली इसी लिए मारी थी . . (व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री सोमपाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपको पी०एच०डी० दिलायेंगे . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : जिस दिन आप मेरे को पी०एच०डी० देने लायक हो गए, उस दिन मैं भारत छोड दूंगा ।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : कांग्रेस की ओर किसी ने उंगली उठाई, तो नाथू राम गोडसे तो मत बनाइए सब लोगों को ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : जिस; चीज के बारे में पता न हो, उसे चुपचाप सुनिए । कम से कम सोमपालजी ने इतना तो कह दिया कि पी०एच०डी० देंगे, मतलब अथेंटिक है चीजें ।

* * * *

**उससे भी जब पूछा था–नाथू राम गोडसे, तुने महात्मा गांधी को गोली क्यों मारी तो उसने कहा था–महात्मा गांधी में सूझ-बूझ की कमी है और इसने हमारी भारत माता का बंटवारा करवा दिया है । **

* * * *

** दुर्भाग्य है । . . (**व्यवधान**)

**Not recorded.

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : गांधी का नाम कांग्रेस नहीं था और कांग्रेस का नाम गांधी नहीं है, यह समझ लीजिए आप ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : अरे मौलाना, आपको तो न गांधी पसंद है, न कांग्रेस पसंद ले । . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : हमें तो गांधी भी पसंद है और कांग्रेस भी पसंद है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: गांधी के पुतले आपके जैसे मौलाना जलाया करते थे । बैठिए । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam): Sir, he is trying to equate Gandhiji with the Congress Party. Is it acceptable? (*Interruptions*)

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : कांग्रेस इज गांधी एण्ड गांधी इज कांग्रेस, गलत है यह । इंदिरा इज इंडिया एण्ड इंडिया इज इंदिरा कहने की आदत पड़ गई है आपको, इस आदत को खत्म कीजिए गांधी इज कांग्रेस एण्ड कांग्रेस इज गांधी मत कहिए, कई समझदार लोग भी बैठे हैं यहां ।

SHRI DAVID LEDGER: Gandhi is not the monopoly of the Congress. Let it be understood. Gandhiji belonged to the entire nation, not to the Congress Party alone. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOM PAL: He is tryinp to equate**

**It is totally uncalled for. It is unparliamentary. We take serious objection to it.
(*Interruptions*)

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : . . . (**व्यवधान**) जितना आतंकवाद बढा है कांग्रेस के जमाने में बढा है, कांग्रेस इससे इंकार नहीं कर सकती । आज देश इस मुकाम पर पहुंचा है कि . . (**व्यवधान**) कांग्रेस ने बारूद बिछाया है फिरकापरस्ती का और बी०जे०पी० ने आग लगायी है फिरकापरस्ती की . . . (**व्यवधान**)

**Not recorded.

†[مولانا عبیداللہ خاں اعظمی : جدلا آنکاوان .. (مداخلت) .. بڑھا ہے کانگریس کے زمانے میں بڑھا ہے کانگریس اس سے انکار نہیں کر سکتی - آج دیش اس مقام پر پہونچا ہے کہ ... (مداخلت) ... کانگریس نے بارود بچھایا ہے فرقہ پرستی کا اور بی - جے - پی - نے آگ لگائی ہے فرقہ پرستی کی ...]

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): I would appeal to you to see the records and get those words expunged. He cannot equate... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I request the hon. Members to make the debate meaningful.

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : ... (**व्यवधान**) उनको क्या हक है इस तरह की बात करने का । यह सही है कि हर लोग अपने आइने में दुनिया को देखते हैं ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मैं बिना चश्मे के देखता हूं, आप तो चश्मे से देख रही हैं, आपने भी तो रंगीन चश्मा लगाया है ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : हां, मैं तो देखती हूं ... (**व्यवधान**)

मौलाना अबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : नहीं-नहीं, मगर आप जिम्मेदार आदमी हैं कम से कम जो बात कह रहे हैं उस को जिम्मेदारी के साथ कहें ।

†[مولانا عبید اللہ خاں اعظمی : نہیں نہیں آپ مگر آپ ذمہ دار آدمی ہیں کم سے کم جو بات آپ کہہ رہے ہیں- اس بات کو ذمہ داری کے ساتھ کہیں -]

श्री सोमपाल : यह व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप आप नहीं कर सकते ?

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर यह खुद सीमित रहते ... (**व्यवधान**) इनको किसने कहा था कि कांग्रेस पर कीचड उछालें ।

मौलाना अबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : यह बहुत ही गंभीर मसला है । हम अहलुवालिया जी की खुद बेपनाह इज्जत करते हैं और अहलुवालिया जी से भी यह चाहेंगे कि वे हाउस की अपनी जिम्मेदारी को निभायें और लोगों की इज्जत का ख्याल रखें ।

†[مولانا عبید اللہ خاں اعظمی : یہ بہت ہی گمبھیر مسئلہ ہے - ہم آہلووالیہ جی کی خود بے پناہ عزت کرتے ہیں اور آہلووالیہ جی سے بھی ہم یہ چاہینگے کہ وہ ہاؤس کی اپنی اپنی ذمہ داری نبھائیں اور لوگوں کی عزت کا خیال رکھیں -]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly take your seats. I have understood the feelings of the Members That comment will not go on record. Now kindly sit down... (*Interruptions*). I have given my ruling. That sentence is not going on record.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): With due respect to your ruling, if anybody takes objection to something, will it be taken off the record? (*Interruptions*). What is objectionable that has spoken? I was here; I have listened to all he has said.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The sentence which has hurt the feelings of other hon. Members will not be there.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: But that is vague. In fact, reading between the lines is not the text. He has not compared.... (*Interruptions*).

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : महोदय, एक बात और भी है ... (**व्यवधान**) इसको भी रूलिंग दे दीजिए कि यह अखबार में भी नहीं जाए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I have given my ruling already.

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

पर, जमीन कब्जा किया है, मकान कब्जा किया है एक सैनिक की विधवा का, यह सत्य है कि नहीं, यह जानना चाहता हूं सदन क्योंकि माननीय जैन हमारे सदन के सदस्य हैं और इस सदन का कोई सदस्य किसी का घर नाजायज ढंग से कब्जा नहीं करता है। यह सत्य है कि नहीं यह हम जानना चाहते हैं ... (व्यवधान)

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. He has taken my name.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Ahluwalia, please sit down. Dr. Jain is on a point of order.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Sir, he has made a reference to me. I wish to put something on record. There is a Resolution of the Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Committee.. I can produce that. (*Interruptions*)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : एक फौजी विधवा का घर तुमने कब्जा किया, उसका क्या होगा बताओ ... (व्यवधान)

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: There is a Resolution in regard to the Jain Medical Centre's organising relief work, on a very large scale, for the riot victims. (*Interruptions*)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : मकान इन्होंने कब्जा किया कि नहीं ?

डा० जिनेन्द्र कुमार जैन : मकान कब्जे की जो बात करते हैं यह टोटल बकवास है और इस तरह की बात करते हुए इनको शर्म आनी चाहिए ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Nothing will go on record. Kindly sit down. No personal abuses will go on record.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN:*

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. N. GEN SAIKIA): Mr. Ahluwalia, plea take your seat. Nothing is going c record. Please. listen to me. (*Interru tions*). Do you want to listen to m Nothing is going on record. (*Interru tions*). Dr. Jain, kindly listen to m Mr. Azmi, Shrimati Kamla Sinha, D Jain, please sit down. I shall go throu the record and if any thing objectionab is found it will be expunged from th proceedings.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Bu he has said these words. He should ap logise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA GEN SAIKIA): Let me go through th record.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARA JAN (Tamil Nadu): It is not a questio of going on the record. He has to apo logise. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NA GEN SAIKIA): Let me handle it. I am on my legs. Kindly sit down. Nothin is going on record.

Dr. Jain, you have said somethin objectionable which has hurt the Member. I think you should withdraw those words gracefully.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: have the greatest respect for the democratic tradition and wishes of the House, but my only anguish is that Members here misuse...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You should not make a statement. (*Interruptions*). Are you going to apologise or not? That is what I want to know. (*Interruptions*). I am on my legs. Kindly sit down. Listen to me. You have said something which has hurt the Members. Therefore, it will be nice of you if you withdraw those words gracefully and apologise for that.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: The other day the same very people...

*Not recorded.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am sorry: I am not defending a wrong person. I have greatest respect for Gandhiji and Shri Raj Mohan Gandhiji; but the point is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): It is a very serious subject and an important subject that we are discussing. I have given my ruling.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अच्छा तो यह होता कि आतंकवाद से ग्रसित होकर किसी पार्टी ने सबसे ज्यादा कीमत अगर किसी ने दी है तो वह कांग्रेस पार्टी ने दी है और यही आतंकवाद के कारण महात्मा गांधी को गोली खानी पड़ी, इंदिरा गांधी को गोली खानी पड़ी और राजीव गांधी को बम से उड़ाया गया है। कोई पार्टी जिसने अपना शिरोमणि, अपनी पार्टी का सिरमौर इस तरह कुर्बान किया हो।

श्री सोमपाल : आपने जानबूझकर किया है ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं थोड़ी देर पहले कह रहा था कि आतंकवाद बाहर से नहीं आता, आतंकवाद को समर्थन इसी सदन से मिलता है और सोमपाल जी ने उसमें सहमति भरदी ! ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सोमपाल : क्या कहा ? .... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : यह जो कीमत कांग्रेस ने दी है और पिछले 40 सालों के अन्दर तीन पार्टी के शिरोमणि कुर्बान किए हैं ... **(व्यवधान)** अभी अभी कुछ देर पहले साल्वे जी के भाषण के बीच में कृष्ण लाल शर्मा जी ने कहा कि नवम्बर, 84 के दंगे किसने कराए थे ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बी०जे०पी० अपने आपको दिल्ली का सबसे सिरमौर समझती है और कहती है कि हर घर का दूसरा आदमी इसका सदस्य है। मुझे बी०जे०पी० पार्टी का कोई आदमी खड़ा होकर बताए कि उसने किसी एक सिख परिवार की रक्षा की थी और रक्षा करने के लिए अपना हाथ कटवा दिया था, पैर कटवा दिया था, मैं सोने का हाथ और सोने का पैर बनवा दूंगा ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : 5 परिवारों के 36 आदमियों को मैंने अपने घर में रखा था ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : गौतम जी, आपके सामने बैठी हैं डा० जैन जो एक आर्मी की विधवा का घर कब्जा करके बैठा है, एक फौजी की विधवा का घर कब्जा कर के बैठा है और जिसका घर भी लुटवा दिया और पुलिस से पिटवाकर भगा दिया। आज तक उसका घर कब्जा करके बैठा है .. **(व्यवधान)**

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Sir, he is talking irrelevant things. There is a Resolution... (*Interruptions*)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (हरियाणा) : ये बड़े-बड़े होर्डिंग लगाकार लोगों ने धन्यवाद दिया था ... **(व्यवधान)**

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : डा० जैन बतायें कि अहलुवालिया जो आरोप लगा रहे हैं वह सत्य है कि नहीं .... **(व्यवधान)**

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: He is talking irrelevant things. He should be ashamed of himself. (*Interruptions*)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : कचहरी के कागज लाकर दिखा दूंगा, कचहरी में खड़ा करके प्रमाण दिखा सकता हूं मैं ... **(व्यवधान)**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please take your seat.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जो आरोप अहलुवालिया लगा रहे हैं माननीय सदस

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No, no.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: They spoiled the decorum of this House. (*Interruptions*). With due respect to the Chair I gracefully withdraw my words with the request, let the decorum of this House not be spoiled. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Don't enter into arguments. Nothing is going on record. I shall request the hon. Members not to enter into arguments; I shall request Shri Ahluwalia not to address the Member directly. If you have anything to say, speak to me. (*Interruptions*). You have not to make any direct aspersion or comment on a Member. (*Interruptions*). You have had your say. (*Interruptions*). those comments are not going on record. He has already withdrawn his words. Please carry on. Mr. Ahluwalia, please carry on.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, खैर आपने जो न्याय किया उसको मैं मानता हूं पर यह न्याय नहीं है । क्योंकि कल से मैं भी कुछ अपशब्द कहूंगा और कहूंगा विद्ड़ा करता हूं ।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : कल से क्यों अभी से ।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Forget it now.

श्री सुरेन्द्र जीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश में आतंकवाद की घटना कश्मीर से शुरू होकर कन्याकुमारी तक पहुंच चुकी हैं । इसमें अगर कोई कहे कि खास जाति या खास धर्म के लोग इससे जुड़े हुए हैं तो यह गलत है । मैं ऐसे सम्प्रदाय से आता हूं जिसका नाम आतंकवाद से जुड़ा हुआ है । पर मैं उस सम्प्रदाय के गुरू तेगबहादुर का भी शिष्य हूं जिस गुरू तेगबहादुर का बलिदान दिवस कल था । मैं समझता हूं कि कल यह चर्चा होती तो अच्छा होता । क्योंकि गुरु तेगबहादुर एक ऐसे गुरु हुए हैं जिनके पिता जी ने, जिनके दादा जी ने भी कुर्बानी दी, इन्होंने खुद भी कुर्बानी दी और उनके चार पौत्रों ने भी कुर्बानी दी । आज जो लोग कह रहे हैं कि गर्व से कहो हम हिन्दू हैं तो वे उस दिन अपने को गर्व से हिन्दू नहीं कह सकते थे । चाहे जितने भी शक्तिशाली हों, माथे पर चंदन का तिलक नहीं लगा सकते थे । चाहे जितने भी पैसे वाले हों, शक्तिशाली हों शरीर पर जनेऊ नहीं धारण कर सकते थे । हमारे नानक पंथ में जो चल रहा था उसके नवें गुरु गुरु तेगबहादुर न तिलक लगाते थे, न जनेऊ पहनते थे । उन्होंने तो धार्मिक अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिए कुर्बानी दी । जो उन्होंने अपने बच्चों को सिखाया वही उन्होंने प्रेरणा अपने पोत्रों को दी और उन्होंने भी वैसा ही किया । पर देखा गया कई सौ सालों के बाद कि आज वही पंजाब भूमि जहां से एक दिन सारे भारत को प्रकाश मिलता था, सारे भारत को उजाला मिलता था वहां आग जलने लगी । कश्मीर की भूमि जहां के ब्राह्मणों के शरीर पर जनेऊ झूलता था और मस्तक पर, ललाट पर तिलक चमकता था उसके लिए कुर्बानी देने वाले गुरु तेगबहादुर के बाद आग क्यों लगी । आग लगने का भी कोई कारण नहीं है । आग लगाई भी सत्ता के भूखों ने । यह सत्ता के भूखे कब जागे ? ये उस वक्त जागे जब पंजाब में भाषा पर सेंसस होने लगा । बुरा मान जायेंगे, गाली निकालने लगेंगे अगर मैं कुछ कहूंगा । आज की बी०जे०पी० उस वक्त जनसंघ के नाम से पार्टी थी। उन्होंने अपने आर०एस०एस० के मैम्बरों और पार्टी के सदस्यों को कहा कि अगर पटवारी पूछने आये कि तुम्हारी लेंग्वेज क्या है तो उनसे कहना मेरी मात् भाषा हिन्दी है । क्योंकि पंजाब के टुकड़े और करवाने में । बूढ़ी मां पंजाबी में पटवारी से कहती थी कि मेरा पुतर कह गया है कि अगर पटवारी आवे तो कवही कि मेरी मातरी भाषा हिन्दी है । पंजाबी में बोलती थी और पटवारी भी लिखता था कि पंजाबी में कहा कि मेरा पुत्र कह गया है कि मेरी मातृभाषा हिन्दी है क्योंकि भाषा के विवाद को लेकर राज्य का बंटवारा करना था, राज्य को छोटा

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

करना था और किया । मैं इसको इसलिए इसके साथ जोड़ता हूं कि आज यह एकता यात्रा शुरू करने से पहले भी इन्होंने हिन्दू शब्द को जोड़ा है और ये हिन्दू शब्द को उसी वक्त से जोड़ रहे हैं— हिन्दी, हिन्दू और हिन्दुस्तान, जब कि हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन में हिन्दुस्तान शब्द है नहीं । हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन का आर्टिकल 1 कहता है—

India, that is Bharat,...

और इंडिया में रहने वाला अंग्रेजी में इंडियन कहलाता है, हिन्दी में भारतीय कहलाता है । यह हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाने वालों की सूझ-बूझ थी, हमारे पूर्व पुरूषों की सूझ-बूझ थी । बाबा साहब अम्बेदकर जिन्होंने शायद देखा था, उनका विजन था कि एक दिन जरूर आ सकता है जब ये हिन्दू का नारा देने वाले या काली टोपी पहनने वाले लोग इस देश का बंटवारा करने के लिए तुलेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान का नारा देकर गुरु तेगबहादुर की दी हुई कुर्बानियों को खत्म करने की कोशिश करेंगे । हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन का आर्टिकल 25 हर जाति को, हर मजहब को अपने धार्मिक अधिकारों का पालन करने और अपने धर्म का प्रचार करने का अधिकार देता है । ये सारे अधिकार गुरु तेगबहादुर की कुर्बानियों से मिले हुए हैं ।

अभी यात्रा शुरू करने से पहले बी०जे०पी० के अध्यक्ष ने पिछले रविवार, 8 दिसम्बर को अपने एक इंटरव्यू में जो कुछ कहा है, वह छपा है और उसका हैडिंग है—

"Muslims are Hindus."

धिक्कार है महोदय, यह अल्पसंख्यकों की धार्मिक भावनाओं को बहुत बड़ी ठेस पहुंचाता है और यह सरासर उनकी धार्मिक भावनाओं का धरसन है, उसके साथ एक बलात्कार है । वह कहते हैं....(व्यवधान) ।

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Sardarji, if the statement as a whole is read, not one line, then, it is in the context of the old history.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया कह रहे हैं कि—

Muslims are Hindus because they liv in Hindustan.

एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी का नेता और अध्यक्ष, उसको संविधान पढ़ना चाहिए और संविधान को पढ़कर जानना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान शब्द हमारे संविधान में नहीं है । हिन्दुस्तान शब्द हिन्दू राष्ट्र की कल्पना करने वालों के जहन में डूबा हुआ है और जानबूझकर हिन्दुस्तान को जगाया जाता है कि हम कह सकें कि हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाला हर आदमी हिन्दू है । मैं कहता हूं कि इस हैडिंग के सिवाय अगर यह हैडिंग होता कि—

Muslims are Indians,

और सब के सब मुस्लिम भारतीय हैं तो गर्व से खड़ा होकर एक मुसलमान अपनी छाती ठोक कर कहता कि मैं गर्व से कहता हूं कि मैं भारतीय हूं । लेकिन यह बात उस पार्टी से आती है जो पार्टी कहती है कि गर्व से कहो कि मैं हिन्दू हूं ।

अरे शर्म करो, डूब मरो । कहां मैं तुम लोग उस वक्त जिस वक्त लाखों का जनेऊ उतर रहा था, लाखों लोगों के ललाट से तिलक पोंछा जा रहा था? उस वक्त कहां थे ? ये नाथूराम के पुजारी, उसके साथ भी राम जुड़ा हुआ है । उस नाथूराम के पुजारी 'करोड़ों लोगों के दिलों में बसने वाले राम को दर दर का भिखारी बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले साल जब रथ यात्रा में निकले आडवाणी जी, अगर वे घोड़े के रथ पर चलते तो कोई मानता । लेकिन वे तो ट्वायटा रथ से चलते हैं, एयर कंडीशंड रथ पर चढ़कर उन्होंने ऐसा प्रचार किया कि सारे भारत में लगता था कि करोड़ों के दिलों में बसने वाला राम आज बेघर हो गया है। उसको कोई मकान किराये पर नहीं दे रहा है, उसको हाउसिंग प्राबलम हो गयी है । वे उस राम को बेघर बना रहे थे जो कि करोड़ों के दिलों का सम्राट है, जिसकी कृपा से लोग सांस लेते हैं, जिसकी

श्री जगेश देसाई : हत्या कर के भाग जाते हैं ।

श्री अजीत जोगी : (मध्य प्रदेश) कांस्पीरेसी भी होती है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मेरी मांग है और मैं समझता हूं इस सदन में सभी सहमत होंगे कि बिना परमिशन के बी०जे०पी० वालों ने यह यात्रा निकाली है । मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहूंगा, गृह मंत्रालय बताए कि क्या उन्होंने 30 दिन पहले गृह मंत्री को लिख कर भेजा था (**व्यवधान**)

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: He is sleeping.

मौलाना अबदुल्ला खान आजमी : सो रहे हैं (**व्यवधान**)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): I am not sleeping.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : क्या मंत्री महोदय बताने की कृपा करेंगे अपने जवाब में । कि बी०जे०पी० ने पूरा रूट मैप देते हुए, समय और तिथि देते हुए, 30 दिन पहले गृह मंत्रालय को या राज्य सरकारों को लिख कर दिया था कि आपके इलाके से हमारा जुलूस निकलेगा, हमारी यात्रा निकलेगी और आप ला एंड आर्डर का बन्दोबस्त करिये ?

अगर नहीं दिया था महोदय, तो मैं मांग करता हूं कि यह यात्रा तुरंत बंद की जाए और उस पर वहीं रोक लगायी जाए.. (**व्यवधान**)

श्री संघप्रिय गौतम : व्हेयर एवर..

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : हिंदी में बोलें ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : जहां कहीं भी सी०आर०पी०सी० धारा 144 लागू हुई हो वहां परमिशन लेने की जरूरत होती है... (**व्यवधान**) और अगर कहीं पर कोई बैन नहीं है, कहीं धारा 144 नहीं लगी है

Then there is no need to take permission from the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): All right. You have made your point. You carry on, Mr. Ahluwalia. Please sit down Mr. Ahluwalia.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : सारे देश में धारा 144 लगी हुई है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मेरी मांग है कि जब इस मुल्क के लोग ऐसा समझते हैं और मेरे ख्याल से 10 तारीख की शाम को जो प्रधान मंत्री जी के कक्ष में मीटिंग हुई वहां बी०जे०पी० को छोड़कर हर पार्टी ने इसका विरोध किया । विरोध करने के बावजूद ये दृढ़संकल्प होकर इस देश में आग लगाने पर तुले हुए हैं । इस देश में दंगे कराने पर तुले हुए हैं... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आप सब मिलकर ... (**व्यवधान**) हम से बड़ी यात्रा क्यों नहीं निकाल लेते ?

कुमारी सईदा खातून (मध्य प्रदेश) : यात्रा कराने से एकता नहीं आ सकती है ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : यात्रा गांधी जी ने की, यात्रा माओ-त्से-तुंग ने की, यात्रा राजीव गांधी जी ने की, यात्रा चन्द्रशेखर जी ने की । हिंदुस्तान और दुनिया में सद्भावना यात्राएं हुई हैं... (**व्यवधान**)

कुमारी सईदा खातून : इस यात्रा में तो खत्म होने की संभावना है... (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly take your seat, Gautamji. (*Interruption*). Kindly have your say when your turn comes. Now

कृपा से लोग जीते हैं और जिसकी कृपा से प्राण पखेरू चलते हैं, उस राम को ये बेघर बना रहे थे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उसी तरह से आज एकता यात्रा का नारा लगाकर अनेकता फैलाने की कोशिश हो रही है । मेरा सीधा और सपाट प्रश्न है कि अगर वाकई एकता है तो इनके अध्यक्ष मुरली मनोहर जोशी जो सिर्फ शीश गंज गुरुद्वारे और अमृतसर में हरमिंदर साहब और मंदिरों में दुर्गयानी मंदिर, कालीघाट, दक्षिणेश्वर तथा तिरूपति और बालाजी में दर्शनों के लिये क्यों गये ? अगर वहां गये तो ये जामा मस्जिद क्यों नहीं गये ? अगर एकता की बात है तो 12 करोड़ मुसलमान यहां रहते हैं । अगर एकता की बात है कि सेंट पौल्स चर्च में क्यों नहीं गये ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर एकता की बात है तो ये जैन मंदिर में क्यों नहीं गये, बौद्ध मंदिर में क्यों नहीं गये, पारसियों के मंदिर में क्यों नहीं गये ? अगर एकता की ही बात थी तो सब को लेकर चलते । क्यों वहां कमल का फूल लगाकर और तिरंगा झंडा नहीं बल्कि भगवा झंडा लगाकर गये ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर एकता की ही बात थी तो इस देश के दलितों, इस देश के पिछड़ों, इस देश के आदिवासियों को लेकर तिरुपति में दर्शन करवाते, त्रिवेन्द्रम में विष्णु की अनन्त सेज के दर्शन करवाते, तब मैं मानता कि वाकई एकता की बात की जा रही है । लेकिन यह कैसी एकता है जिसमें आप अनैतिकता की बात करते हैं, आप देश का विभाजन करना चाहते हैं, आप देश को तोड़ने की बात करते हैं, जिसके द्वारा आप देश में दरार खड़ी कर रहे हैं ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उस सम्प्रदाय से आता हूं, कुछ लोग फिर चिल्लाने लगेंगे—ये श्री हरमिन्दर साहब क्यों गये या शीश गंज गुरुद्वारे क्यों गये ? इसलिये नहीं कि उनके दिल में सिखों के प्रति सच्चा प्यार है, मुहब्बत है । सिखों के प्रति प्यार उस दिन ही इन्होंने दिखा दिया था जब इन्होंने भाषा के विवाद पर पंजाब को बंटवा दिया था । अगर उनके दिल में प्यार होता तो ये इस तरह से उनके साथ गद्दारी न करते । पर आज उनका वहां मत्था टेकने का मकसद सिर्फ यह है कि उनको ए०के० 47 की गोलियों से डर लगता है क्योंकि जम्मू 5 P.M. और श्रीनगर पहुंचने के लिए उनको पंजाब से भी यात्रा करनी पड़ेगी और पंजाब की यात्रा बड़ी कठिन है । उन कठिनाइयों के बीच कैसे निकलेंगे, यह सोचने की जरूरत है । सिख आतंकवाद या मुस्लिम आतंकवाद जो है उसके पीछे बहुत सारे कारण रहे हैं । परन्तु उसको दबाने के लिए हम बहुसंख्यक हिन्दू आतंकवाद पैदा करें कहीं शिव सेना बन गई, कहीं बजरंग ब्रिगेड बन गई, कहीं दुर्गा वाहिनी बन गई । लोगों को आतंकित कर के आज भी राम नवमी और दशहरे के टाइम में मुसलमानी मुहल्ले में टेंशन हो जाता है । क्यों ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं यह टेंशन क्यों होता है वह जिद पकड़ते हैं कि राम नवमी का जुलुस मुसलमानी मुहल्ले से हम निकालेंगे । मुसलमान मुहर्रम का जुलूस निकालने के लिए कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दू इलाके से निकालेंगे । यह रोज रोज अपनी मसल पावर और स्ट्रेंथ दिखाने का एक तरीका चल गया है । इसको कौन रोकेगा मैं तो सीधी सी बात जानता हूं कि समाज में रहने के लिए मेरे को अगर अपने घर में कोई जुलुस निकालना हो, यदि बारात निकालनी हो तो आदमी को लोकल थाने से परमिशन लेनी पड़ती है कि मेरे घर में बारात आ रही है । वहां वह बन्दूक ले कर आएंगे, हवाई फायर कर सकते हैं, अपना बाजा ले कर आएंगे, गाना बजाना हो सकता है, शोरगुल हो सकता है । पर इस देश में इतनी बड़ी यात्रा निकालें पेट्रोल डाल कर के और किसी से परमिशन नहीं, जिसके परिणाम इतने गम्भीर हो सकते हैं । हमने अभी पिछले साल देखा है कि किस तरह से गम्भीर परिणाम हुए हैं । आज भी वही परिणाम हो सकते हैं । इस यात्रा पर कोई रोक नहीं है, उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं है, क्यों ? अगर इस यात्रा के कारण किसी एक भी जान जाती है तो उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार होगा मैं हत्या का मुकदमा किस के ऊपर चलना चाहिये ?

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : जो हत्या करेगा उसी पर ?

let him speak. (*Interruptions*). Kindly do not interrupt. Let him speak and conclude. Please do not interrupt.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : यात्रा तो शंकराचार्य ने भी की थी...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : विवेकानंद ने भी की थी ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : किंतु शंकराचार्य यात्रा पर निकले थे धर्म का प्रचार करने के लिए । यात्रा गुरु नानक ने भी की थी, पंजाब से श्रीलंका गये थे और उन्होंने भी की थी तो धर्म का प्रचार करने के लिए । गुरु तेग बहादुर ने की थी । कर्तारपुर से धुबड़ी साहब तक गये थे । उन्होंने भी धर्म प्रचार के लिए की थी । ये मान लें कि यह एकता यात्रा नहीं यह पार्टी की प्रचार यात्रा है तो हम कुछ नहीं कहेंगे । ये मानें; जो सच्चाई है। यह एकता यात्रा ढोंग है, एक ढकोसला है और इन्होंने एक बहाना लगाया है इस मुल्क में एक नफरत की दीवार खड़ी करने का । आपको देखकर आश्चर्य होगा, सुनकर आश्चर्य होगा । मैं अभी यह भाषण देने आने के पहले इनका वीडियो देखकर आ रहा हूं... **(व्यवधान)** मैं अपने घर में देखकर आ रहा हूं । क्या आपकी सामग्री मेरे पास नहीं आती है ? खूब आती है... **(व्यवधान)** उस सामग्री में उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने कार्टून बनाये हैं कुछ.. **(समय की घंटी)**...

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आजमी : कार्टून दिखाने की आज्ञा दी जाए ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : और उस कार्टून में गांधी टोपी लगाकर लीडर दिखाये गये हैं, सारी अच्छी फिल्म इन्होंने की है, और सारे बुरे हैं।... **(व्यवधान)** सफेद टोपी, वे काली टोपी नहीं लगाते हैं । इन्होंने उस कार्टून को बनाकर यह दिखाने की कोशिश की है कि जितने राजनीतिविद हैं इनके सिवाय, वे सब के सब चोर हैं । एक जगह बोतल और गिलास भी दिखा दिया है कि दफ्तर में पीते हैं । यह नफरत की आंधी है । इन्होंने दिखाया है कि तिरंगा झंडा जलाया जा रहा है । जहां कर्फ्यू लगा आ है वह दिखाया है । वे यह भी दिखा देते कि पीलीभीत में सिख तीर्थ यात्री जब आ रहे थे तो उनको घाट के पास उतारकर बी०जे०पी० के पुलिस वाले लोग उठाकर, ले जाकर के मार देते हैं, तो बड़ी कृपा होती ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : गुरुदासपुर के एस० पी० ने बता दिया था कि वह लोग तो आतंकवादी थे, तीर्थ यात्री नहीं थे । क्षमा कीजिए ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : मेरे पास उन तीर्थ यात्रियों का जो पटना साहब में ठहरे थे, उनका रिकार्ड है और जब हुजूर साहब नानदेड में वह ठहरे थे, उसका रिकार्ड मैंने पेश किया है ।

अगर वह तसवीरें भी दिखाते, तो अच्छा रहता । वह तसवीरें भी दिखाते जिस तरह से कम्यूनल दंगे करवा कर इन्होंने गुजरात, राजस्थान, बनारस, और बिहार में क्या-क्या किया है, तो अच्छा होता ।

हम कैसेटों पर बिलीव नहीं करते हम कैसेटों की राजनीति पर विलीव नहीं करते । (**समय की घंटी**) पर आज की तारीख में आज जो इन्होंने यह नफरत की दीवार खडी की है, मैं आपसे मांग करता हूं कि इनकी यात्रा रोकी जाए और जिसके कारण देश में डिस्टर्बेंस हो सकता है, जो हमारे यहां नेशनल सिक्यूरिटी एक्ट कानून है, उसके तहत बंद किया जाए ।

उसके साथ-साथ महोदय, आतंकवाद की बात जब आती है, तो एक दूसरा कोमी जनून डाला जा रहा है आतंकवादियों के नाम पर । अगर आतंकवादियों की बात आती है आतंकवादियों ने तो हर तरह का रास्ता अपना लिया है । हमारे कुछ राज्य सरकार से जुड़े हुए लोग, सरकारी से जुड़े हुए ठीग भी आतंकवादियों को बढ़ावा देते है ।

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

पिछले दिनों आपरेशन बजरंग में असम में एक उल्फा हाईड-आऊट्स में एक सीक्रेट डाक्यूमेंट जोकि कैबिनेट सैक्रेटेरिएट का था, वह पाया गया, जिसको असम का कोई अफसर उल्फा के एक्टिविस्ट लोगों को सप्लाई करता था ।

महोदय, यहीं बात खत्म नहीं होती । अभी तो फार्मर होम सैक्रेटरी तमिलनाडू, के पकड़े गए, उनसे पता लगा कि वह भी होम मिनिस्ट्री के सीक्रेट डाक्यूमेंट्स एल०टी०टी०ई० को पहुंचाते थे ।

महोदय, आतंकवादियों को बदनाम किया जाता है । यह कुछ राजनीतिक नेता अपने स्वार्थ के लिए आतंकवादियों को उस जगह बदनाम करने की कोशिश करते हैं । पर आतंकवाद पनपता क्यों है, उसका जन्म क्यों होता है ? मैंने जहां से शुरूआत की थी, मैं वहीं पर आता हूं ।

कुछ-कुछ आतंकवादियों ने पंजाब में, बिहार, कश्मीर, आंध्र प्रदेश, तमिल नाडु और असम में बहुत सारे आतंकवादियों ने कुछ सोशल रेफर्मेशन के पापुलर प्रोग्राम भी ले लिए हैं । हमारे बिहार में आतंकवादी क्या करते हैं, हमारे पंजाब में आतंकवादी क्या करते हैं? (**समय की घंटी**) ।

मैं कहता हूं कि अगर यह सुझाव माना जाए, अगर इसका सुधार लाया जाए–पहले आतंकवादियों ने आजकल नई बात शुरू की है कि दहेज प्रथा बंद करो । आतंकवादियों ने सब शादी के घरों में जाकर कहना शुरू किया है कि अगर आप दहेज लोगे, तो गोली मार दी जाएगी ।

बारातो कम होने चाहिए । यह एक सोशल रेफर्मेशन का पापुलर स्लोगन उन्होंने लिया है । यह खराबी हमारे समाज में है, जिसको सुधारने की जरूरत है । यह प्लेटफार्म आतंकवादियों के पास क्यों जा रहा है ?

दूसरे उन्होंने शराब के खिलाफ आंदोलन चालू किया है । यह प्लेटफार्म उनके पास क्यों जाता है ? हमें इस पर रोक लगाने की जरूरत है और यह जो घूंसखोरी, भ्रष्टाचार है, इसके खिलाफ भी उनकी मुहिम है, पर हमारे यहां क्यों नहीं रुकता है ? हमारे यहां सी०बी०आई० के डी०आई० जी०, मि० शर्मा, जो पंजाब और कश्मीर का मसला देखते थे, वह सरेआम आफिस में दस लाख की घूंस लेते हुए पकड़े गए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The other Members o your party will not get time. Noboty wi be allowed then.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: उसके बाद यह भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के साथ-साथ यह जमीनों के केस है; सिविल कोर्ट में जो इतने लंबे केस चलते है, उनको जस्टिस नहीं मिलता है ।

यह पापुलर स्लोगन उनको मिल रहे हैं । यह पापुलर स्लोगन और पापुलर प्लेटफार्म जो उनके हाथ में जा रहे हैं, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करते हुए आगाह करना चाहता हूं कि अगर समाज की इन बुराईयों को दूर किया जाए तो शायद ये आतंकवादी, मुरली मनोहर जोशी जैसी पार्टी के हाथों नहीं खेलेंगे, ये आतंकवादी उस दिन नौजवान इनके चक्करों में नहीं पड़ सकेंगे, लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी उनको रथ यात्रा में नहीं जोड़ सकेंगे, अनेकता की यात्रा को एकता की यात्रा में परिवर्तित नहीं कर सकेंगे । ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): If you don't conclude I will call the next speaker. Please conclude within a minute.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, half of the time other people have taken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Only five minutes. You have already crossed your time. If you don't conclude, I will call the next speaker. There is no other way out.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे और आपके माध्यम से सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि अगर आतंकवाद को इस देश से दूर करना है तो सब से पहले उन पार्टियों को बैन किया जाए जो पार्टियां इस देश में जाति के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर, भाषा के नाम पर, नफरत फैलाती हैं। उसके साथ-साथ वैसी पार्टियों को भी बंद किया जाए जो देश का नाम लेकर देश की एकता का नाम लेकर अपनी पार्टी का प्रचार कर रही हैं। साथ-साथ मेरी जो पहली मांग है कि अगर इन्होंने सरकार से परमिशन नहीं ली है और राज्य सरकार से नहीं ली है तो इन्हें नेशनल सेक्यूरिटी एक्ट में बंद किया जाए। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHARMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Hanumantha Rao. Your party's time is 18 minutes and there are two speakers. Please be brief.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, we are discussing a serious subject and now throughout the country terrorism is ruling the roost. It has become the order of the day throughout India, from the east to west, from the north to south. We must review why such a situation has developed after 44 years of independence. I agree with my Congress friends who said that we are facing so many dangers, external, internal communal, fundamentalist. We are facing so many other dangers. There is no doubt about it, but I ask them, "Who is responsible for this?" They have ruled our country for 40 years out of 44 years. Because of their opportunism, fundamentalism and casteism have developed; because of the socio-economic conditions created by them anarchic elements are coming out in large numbers. More and more young people are resorting to anarchy and terror. Which is the fertile soil for them to grow? The fertile soil is the socio-economic conditions created by our ruling party. They cannot escape from that responsibility. So we must realise that as a result of all these things our country is facing disintegration. Our country is facing communal riots. Our country is facing fundamentalism. Our country is facing terrorism of all types. Naxalism and other things are also there. What is the net result? How to tackle all these things has become our burden today. My point is with all this they are encouraged, nourished and armed also by the external forces. If such conditions are created inside the country, it is easy for the external forces to make use of them. On one side Pakistan is there and on the other side the LTTE is there. They are instrumental in supplying arms to terrorists all over India and behind them there is one super power and we can never forget that that super power, the American imperialism, is interested in destablising our country. As our country has been pursuing the policy of non-alignment. They are interested in destabilising our country. As a result of that, we have been facing so many difficulties. Now, in this unipolar world it is all the more dangerous to forget the U.S. imperialism. Because of the division of the Soviet Union they think they are supreme. They can impelement any order they pass and the new order is the U.S. imperialist order. They want to impose their imperialist order on the whole world. So, in order to see that we develop such resistance to all these forces we will have to think twise, how we have come to such a state of affairs Inside our own country. I have been speaking on behalf a party which has stood in the forefront to safeguard the integration of the country, to safeguard the communal amity and all such things. Our tomrades have sacrificed two hundred lives in Punjab due to terrorism and more than one hundred lost their lives in the small state of Tripura because of the State terrorism that is prevailing there. So as one who belongs to a party that has stood in the forefront facing all these difficulties, I plead for a serious review of the situation and for a serious step to come out of this dangerous situation. If we put all the figures that are given officially together, we can understand the gravity of terrorism and how it is prevailling. I am just trying to give you some figures which were published in this week itself. There were

[Shri Moturu Hanumantha Rao]

327 kidnappings in the last 6 months in Delhi, the capital city of our country. There were 40 bomb explosions on the Railways which resulted in twenty-four deaths and forty-eight injured in the railways. Four thousand and four hundred lost their lives in three years in Kashmir. Four thousand and five hundred were killed in 1991 itself in Punjab—either the militants or the Khalistanis or the police or the security forces, or the innocent people. They have lost their families also. Entire families were wiped out by these merciless people. In Andhra Pradesh and Assam kidnappings have become a daily occurrence. In Andhra Pradesh itself this is prevailing horribly. So many people were killed. Only the other day one of the known Congressmen, Mr. Hayagrevachari, was murdered and as a counter to this the police themselves had resorted to the murder of another citizen. He was heading the Civil Liberties Association. It is alleged that the police went in mufti and killed that gentleman in Warangal in order to counter Hayagrevachari's murder. If the State itself resorts to lawlessness, what happens to this country? We must try to understand. So, such things are developing and we will have to be very guarded in our approach to this serious problem. I refer here to how the prevailing terroristic situation is creating a condition which is intolerable for the weaker sections and women in particular. Only this week certain figures were given in the Lok Sabha. I think the figures given are 2448 dowry deaths and 5916 rapes in 1991 itself. In 1990 crime on Dalits went up to 18000. Our friends were referring to *Rath Yatra* and *Ekta Yatra*. We must realise what kind of a hell was created by this *Rath Yatra*. Communal riots broke out on an unprecedented scale in 1990 and 1100 people lost their lives—innocent people not politicians, nothing to do with anything—only because they happen to be born as Hindu or Muslim. Again an attempt is made by *Ekta Yatra*, though they say that it is to unite the country. What unity? Hindi unity. The interpretation given was since our country is Hindustan, all citizens are Hindus. In the name of this interpretation they will have to swallow all the minorities. If this is the purpose of the *Ekta Yatra*, we naturally apprehend more communal clashes to take place. That is why, this type of slogan-mongering is to be ended. That is my appeal. Sir, anarchy is prevailing. Communalism is prevailing. Sir, I have already stated that the socio-economic conditions are very bad. It was stated yesterday in Lok Sabha that 23 crores people,—it is according to 1973-74 prices—have gone under the poverty line. By now almost 50 per cent of the population has gone under the poverty line. High prices are there. Unemployment is there because of the new policies that are adopted now. In this way we are not going to put a stop to terrorism. More and more youths are going to become desperate. They would only resort to anarchy. Sir, in the *Times of India* of today an expert assessment is given. According to the Economic Policy that is taken up by the Government of India, 8 to 9 million people are going to become unemployed in 1991-92. In 1993 thtis will go up by 10 million. So, where will all these people go? What will they do? They have become unemployed. Youths born out of those families have no responsibility to this society, because this society has let them down. They don't have any hope. Sir, this is the rule that is going on. These kinds of policies are adopted by the Congress Government. That is exactly why some serious radical measures are to be taken in order to see that our socio-economic life is bettered. Now they have been talking about land reforms. Even now they say that land reforms are to be implemented by the end of March, 1992. For the last 20 years it has been going on and nobody takes it seriously. Even now they say that the Ceiling Acts are to be implemented by the end of March. How will it happen? If we are serious about putting an end to terrorism and putting an end to anarchy, we must create such socio-economic conditions which would give hopes to the youths and to the students that their life would be

better tomorrow. If such a condition is not created, how are we going to solve the problem? Abstractly seeing terrorism as terrorism is no good. How was it born? Who is responsible for it? How to root it out? Without going to the root cause, we can end up nowhere. That is the hopeless situation. Even elections are becoming a farce nowadays. The end of democracy is seen in so many places where rigging is resorted to. Rowdyism, goondaism rigging, all these things are taking place during elections. Where is democracy? How can the people express their opinion freely? They are not free. They cannot go to the booths and vote freely and then rigging takes place. This is the order of the day. How can democracy flourish? Strong steps have to be taken immediately by the Government. Gangsters resort to all sorts of violence. Strong steps need to be taken. It cannot be solved by simply appealing to the terrorists to give up arms. What are we as political parties under parliamentary democracy to do? Not only this, the socio-economic conditions are also to be taken into consideration. Radical reforms should be implemented immediately. We have to address ourselves to these problems too. At the same time there has to be a political approach also. The Prime Minister has been talking day in and day out, about arriving at a decision only after consulting all the parties. He has been talking of talking decisions on consensus. But, where is the consensus? Did he consult the other parties while applying for the IMF loan? Did he consult the other parties while he was devaluing the rupee?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): I think we are discussing terrorism... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You have not been listening to him carefully. He is talking of how these issues also lead, to terrorism... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we need to arrive at a consensus decision. Only then we can fight terrorism in Kashmir, in Punjab and in Assam. Our political approach to this problem also has to change. Terrorism is not an abstract problem. It is very much connected with the socio-economic conditions that are prevailing in the country. Without departing from our previous approaches, it will be very difficult to solve the problem of terrorism. The terrorists are coining such slogans, that even the people are getting incited. Authoritarianism has prevailed throughout. The State autonomy is being suppressed and that is exactly why the terrorists are taking advantage of this situation. It is because of this authoritarianism of the Central Government that people are getting easily aroused by these terrorists. It is for this reason that we have to differentiate between terrorists and the people whose passions have been whipped up by the terrorists. We have to augment such forces which are nationalistic and patriotic. Assurance will have to be given that State autonomy will be restored. People are complaining that State autonomy is being thrown over board. That should not be done. State autonomy must be respected and only then we can solve this problem. Kashmir wants its own identity. But the existing identity itself would be rooted out by our BJP friends by asking us to delete Article 370 of the Constitution. This is to create forces of disintegration but not to create forces of integration. Punjab must have its own place. Kashmir must have its own place and Assam must have its own place. We must have such an approach to wipe away such terrorist and fundamentalist elements.